Whig party was held, and-Resolved, That we disapprove of the course of the National Intelligencer upon the Nebraska bill, and that, in our opinion, it does not truly represent the Whig party for the

The Hon. John Bell was one of the members of this caucus meeting. "That resolution," says the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Toombs, in a speech in the Senate, "was adopted without dispute. I did not hear the Senator's (Mr. Bell's) voice against it." Just before the meeting adjourned, say Mr. Toombs, Mr. Clayton, and Mr. Badger, in their speeches in the Senate, "it was suggested that, as it would be several weeks before all of us would have an opportunity of speaking on the bill, an authoritative annunciation of our position upon it in the Senate would promote the objects of he meeting. This was agreed to without dispute, whereupon the Senator from North Carolina was requested to favor of the bill. The Senator from North Carolina, Mr. Badger, having the floor next day, made the announcement accordingly. The statement went forth to the country .-The Senator from Tennessee," continued Mr. Toobms, licly one word in opposition; and I never heard that the statement of the Senator from North Carolina did not truly represent the position of the Senator from Tennessee, until heard of his vote against the bill when it passed that

Senator Clayton, one of the purest men who ever occupied a seat in the Senate, said: "The Southern Whigs (in that meeting) were unanimous had consulted with each other, not in a caucus, but we understood from private conversation with each other that we all thought the Missouri Compromise line ought to be re-Mr. Clayton further said, he understood Mr. Bell himsel

"I certainly thought I was requested by the meeting of Whig Senators, then and there present, of whom my friend from Tennessee was one-not only authorized, but requestsion, in support of the bill, we were all uni-

Every other gentleman who spoke confirmed these gentle men in their statements. (See Appendix to Globe, vol. 29,

And yet after having voted for the main features of this measure, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, offered as an amendment by Mr. Dixon-after having attended a meeting of the Whig members of the Senate, who were all agreed to favor the bill, and who, from their intercourse with Mr. Bell understood him as being with them, and who authorized one of their number, Mr. Badger, to announce in the Senate, that they were a unit for the Nebraska-Kausas bill,negative vote:

NAYS .- Messrs. BELL of Tenn., CHASE of Ohio, Dodge of Wisconsin, Fessenden of Maine, Fish of New York, FOOT of Vermont, HAMLIN of Maine, Houston of Texas, James of Rhode Island, SEWARD of New York, SMITH of Connecticut, SUMNER of Massachusetts, WADE of Ohio, Walker of Wisconsin-14. Ayes 37. What new light broke in upon him between his vote for

Mr. Dixon's amendment, in accordance with the instructions of his State, and his vote against the bill? What inducements were held out to him by the Abolitionists which inclined him to violate his instructions, stultify his own record, and return to their embraces? We will see. When in 1856, meeting with the general disapprobation of his outraged constituency, it was rumored that he intended to resign and come home, the leading Black Republican organ of the North, the New York Tribune, contradicting the report,

"He is as robust and hale to-day as when he bearded and conquered the old lion, Andrew Jackson, in his den, and as resolute and as ready to do service as when SINGLE HANDED he bravely encountered the WHOLE SOUTH upon the Nebraska Bill, and carried terror into their ranks. The wisdom and experience of a man so eminent and pure are of no ordinary value at this time, when the country is convulsed with the wars of faction and the spirit of subjugation is abroad, some higder capacity, where the country may equally enjoy pirations but party names wholly subordinate. their advantage

But we must harry on. And this brings us to the ADMISSION OF KANSAS AS A SLAVE STATE. 1857 Kansas an filed for admission as a slave State. Her constitution via formed by a convention legally convened, and the quest on of slavery or no slavery was submitted to a vote of the people, and they decided in favor of slavery.

Adrain, John W. Forney, and John Hickman; and all such Gen. Zollicoffer, the Whig Representative in Congress from Mr. Bell's own district in Tennessec, truly said : 'The great mass of those who oppose the admission of

Kansas into the Union, oppose it because it comes with a pro-slavery constitution. The issue was made up. The time was come to test the question whether the Black Republican doctrine, " No more slave States," should prevail. Tennessee, true to herself

and the South, through her Legislature, instructed Mr. Bell to vote for the admission of Kansas or resign. What did he

ple, I have yet to find the first man who understood that question properly. And then, to still further mark his contempt for the peo ple, he voted with Hale, Seward, Sumner & Co., against the occasion, had the hardihood to desert their own section, and

bill. He and Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, were the only to their common foe?" Senators from the slave States in the Senate that, on that attach themselves to the Abolitionists of the North, and they have both been hurled by an indignant and betrayed constituency from their seats in that august body. In his speeches upon the question, Mr. Bell objected to

some informalities and charges of fraud which had been thrown out by the Abolition Senators against the action of Kansas. He forgot that he had voted to admit California, with all her informalities, irregularities, and frauds. She had not had even a territorial government before. The convention that made her constitution was called together by a military Governor: the question of convening it was not even submitted to a vote of the people. There was no law directing who should or should not vote. All was chaos .-The military Governor was the supreme authority, and evidences of astounding frauds were filed before Congress, undenied and undeniable. Mr. Bell himself admitted that the rights of the United States to the mineral lands were not guarded in her constitution. Yet he voted and spoke for her mission—she was a free State—he could then overlook the informalities, irregularities, and frauds. He went further, He was willing to admit New Mexico, with her uncivilized and semi-barbarous people, as a free State. But as soon as a slave State comes up for admission, and Giddings, Hale, Seward, Sumner & Co. start off, in accordance with their ion anti-slavery views, in full howl against it, Mr. Bell tender, conscientious soul, sees informalities in every act, irregularity at every turn, and fraud at every corner. The soy who is denounced as an accomplished and institute powerful North,"—that North with whom Mr. Bell had so demagogue. long co-operated; that North which he had sustained in its Hartford and at Boston, when he betrayed the Democratic party in 1836; that North with whom he had co-operated in reviving all the Federal measures of John Quincy Adams' administration; that North with whom he had labored for a United States Bank and a high Protective Tariff; that North war and in impeding its vigorous prosecution; that North, with which he had voted, almost uniformly, against his own section upon every question involving the rights of slavery; that North, whom he had aided in opening the doors of Congress for the reception of Abolition petitions, in applying the Wilmot proviso to the Territory of Oregon, and in making it a precident against the South in future legislation; in defeating the CLAYTON compromise, which secured to the slave States whatever constitutional rights the Supreme Court should determine them entitled to; in endeavoring to defeat the compromise measures of 1850, and adopt in their stead a plan of settlement which would have debarred the South from every inch of the newly acquired territory; that North, with whom he stood shoulder to shoulder in their efforts to defeat the Kansas bill, and subsequently in prohibiting her admission into the Union under a slavery constitution; that North was now getting the ascendency by numerical force, not by any newly acquired constitutional rights, and Mr. Bell could not afford to break with them .-On the contrary, he desired to remind them, as he saw the period have continued faithful and just to them, sustaining them in their favorite policy through every vicissitude of political fortune." He pointed back to his votes for the re-

" I hold the same sentiments now. I do not find the least occasion to change them." He also goes on to endorse the heretical doctrines of the Abolitionists on the

DRED SCOTT DECISION. that it was not binding or obligatory upon them. The Supreme Court had declared, in the Dred Scott case, with repreme Court had declared, in the Dred Scott case, with remarkable unanimity: 1st, that a negro was not a citizen; 2d, that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, and that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the Territories; and 3d, that slaves were property, and that the Citizens of all the States had a right to go into the Territories of those who win their way to office by PRACTICES THAT

impaired by either Congress or the Territorial Legislatures, they possessing alone "the power coupled with the duty to

Mr. Seward, Mr. Hale, and all the Abolition agitators denounced the decision in the most unmeasured terms. They threatened to re-organize the court, and proclaimed that they would not obey the decision. Mr. Douglas, who had been fighting side by side with them, said to the people of

" It matters not what way the Supreme Court may here after decide as to the abstract question, whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce or exclude it as they please. * "No matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to

make a slave Territory or a free Territory, is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill." Abraham Lincoln, the Black Republican candidate for the Presidency, on the same occasion said: "If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on question, whether slavery should be prohibited in a new

Territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should. Now, listen to John Bell, in the Senate of the United States:

"Whatever may be the decision of the Supreme Court or the power of Congress to interfere with the question of slavery in the Territories, and however clear and well founded in principle and authority its decision may be, I have supposed that inasmuch as it is a question of constitutional construction or interpretation, and relates to the jurisdic tion and power of a special department of the government -a department always more or less under the influence of political considerations, THE QUESTION WOULD NOT BE REGAR-DED AS PERMANENTLY SEITLED; and that whenever in future, as heretofore, Congress shall be called upon to legislate concerning a Territory, the question will again become the subject of decision, and such decision as the majority shall think proper to declare. Congress was never swayed by the opinion of the Supreme Court on the question of its powers to establish a National Bank; nor will it be controlled by any of its opinions on questions involving political consid-

Now, what is the difference between Bell. Douglas, and incoln? All of them agree in setting at defiance the decision of the Supreme Court, declared by the Constitution of the United States to be "the supreme law of the land: they proclaim the same dangerous and infamous doctrine, that Congress, and if Congress, then the citizen also, will not be bound by the decision of the highest tribunal known to the Constitution to interpret the laws of the country. this is not counselling contempt of the courts, and resistance, instead of obedience, to the constituted authorities of the Government, we cannot understand the force of the state, in substance, that the Southern Whigs were a unit in English language. Such a doctrine, of contempt for the laws and the courts would, if instilled into the minds of the people, inevitably lead to the disruption of the Government. He is not a sound statesman, nor a good man, nor a patriot, who loves his country and her institutions, who would thus was present when it was made, but he did not utter pub- seek to loosen the respect of the people for the judiciary and laws of their country.

THE PRAISE OF THE ABOLITIONISTS. No wonder, then, the Abolitionists were loud in their praises of Mr. Bell. During a long and eventful history, he had never forsaken them. He had given himself wholly up to their "favorite policy." He had voted to receive, print, and refer their petitions; he had voted against the Clayton Compromise, and spoke in favor of the Wilmot Proviso; he in favor of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. They was willing to vote to admit free States, and had voted a gainst the admission of a slave State: he had spoken against the Compromise measures, and voted against the Kansas-Nebraska bill; he had proclaimed the power of Congress, and his own desire, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; and now he had joined the Abolitionists to weaken to take that ground in his speech. Mr. Badger said, in the the force of the decision of the Supreme Court. In view of all this, well might Mr. Seward, the arch-traitor or New York, alluding to Mr. Bell, say :

" At last a new voice issues from your own region, FROM THE SOUTH, from the slave States, and protests against your ed-in order to anticipate the delay which must take place further persistence in this mad enterprise, [of extending thought the honest and patriotic of all parties could unite before they could either vote or speak on the subject, that slavery,] and admonishes you that it must and will fail. whatever course of reasoning we might adopt in bringing us The cohorts are gallering FHOM THE SOUTH; the men of FORE MODERATED IN FAVOR OF SLAVERY AND AGAINST FREE well established character and their patriotism, to moder-ATE AGAINST YOU IN FAVOR OF FREEDOM, AND RISE UP UNANIMOUSLY AGAINST SLAVERY.

Well might the notorious Barlingame-he who blasphemously declared that " the times demand, and we must have, an anti-slavery Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God," thus bespatter Mr. Bell with praises: "Sir, it was a proud day to me when I heard the speech of the venerable Senator from Kentucky, (Mr. Crittenden.) | Bell thus replied : The melody of his voice and his patriotic accent still sound Mr. Bell, true to his instincts, abandoned the South, and in my ears. I was glad to hear him denounce fraud; I was even his party friends, on this question; and recorded his glad to hear him stand for the truth. * * I also felt proud vote with the Abolitionists against it. The following is the to hear the speech of the distinguished Senator from Tennessee, (Mr. Bell) * * I trust that this nay be an omen it is not for me to prophesy. Let time and chance deter-Horace Greeley, of the New York Tribune, was also loud

n his praise of Mr. Bell. Hear him: Most certainly we should prefer an original Republican -Gov. Seward or Gov. Chase for instance - but we shall heartily and zealously support one like JOHN BELL, Edward Bates, or John M. Botts, provided we are well assured that his influence, his patronage, his power, if chosen President, will be used not to extend slavery, but to confine it within the States that see fit to uphold it

And again, in reference to who should be their candidate: "A speech, a vote, a proposition of the right stamp, and made at the right moment, may indicate him so that the clear-eyed can no longer doubt. And that man, whoever he may be, whether Seward, or Chase, or McLean, or Barks. or Fremont, or Bissell, or Collamer, or Bates, or Fessenden -nay, should he not have hitherto been regarded as (echnically a Republican, such as Gen. Scott, or JOHN BELL, or Horace F. Clark, or John M. Botts, or Henry Winter Davis, provided he be openly and unequivocally anti-slavery-extending, anti-Cuba-stealing, anti-Fillibuster-we shall heartiy support both his nomination and his election. We give fair notice that a practical triumph over the sham Democrathreatening to overshadow a new land of promise, (Kansas.) cy and its master, the slavery Propaganda, is the end for Let us hope they will be long exercised in the Senate or in which we labor and to which we hold not only personal as-

Again, in a long article on the policy of taking up a Southern man, after laying down the platform of the Black Republican party, Greeley said:

"Looking to the North, we regard as coming within the Americans as Nathaniel S. Benton, Daniel Ullman, James H. Campbell, Henry M. Fuller, and William Millward. AT THE SOUTH, UNLESS WE MISUNDERSTAND THEIR POSITION, IT WOULD EMBRACE SUCH MEN AS JOHN BELL, FDWARD BATES, H. WINTER DAVIS, JOHN M. BOTTS, EMERSON ETHERIDGE, AND KENNETH RAYNER. * * * * * "Cannot they combine to overthrow the Nullifiers and

Propagandists of the Calhoun school in their efforts to override the Constitution and make Negro Slavery the dominat ing interest of the country? ARE NOT THESE THE IS do? He gets up in the Senate, and insults the people of SUES UPON WHICH THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST IS TO TURN? Do not William H. Seward and JOHN "I undertake to say, that at this day (1858) there are not BELL, Salmon P. Chase and Edward Bates, Schuyler Colfive hundred men in Tennessee who understand the Kansas- fax and John Hickman, Henry M. Fuller and Horace F Nebraska bill. * * In my own intercourse with the peo- Clark, HOLD PRECISELY THE SAME SENTIMENTS IN RELATION TO THESE? And shall these gentlemen, and grounds to which you allude, (support of the Bank. those who think with them, unite and give EFFICIENCY TO THEIR COMMON OPINION in the next National Ad ministration, or by warring on each other, insure a triumph

> The New York Times, the organ of Senator Seward, discussing the probabilities as to the Chicago nominee, said : "The candidates prominent before the Opposition, are Senator Cameron, SENATOR SEWARD, William L. Davton. SENATOR BELL, Senator Crittenden, Governor Banks, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, JOHN C. FREMONT And in confirmation of all this, the Times proceeded to detail a conversation between several " prominent Republi-

> cans." who stated: "That, notwithstanding they were personally in favor of Seward, yet that it would be more politic to nominate a Southerner, so that it might not be said it was a sectional struggle for power. It was further urged that BELL, of ennessee, was the most available candidate for them." Even the National Era, the ultra Abolition paper, publish d at Washington City, was willing to take Mr. Bell, but did not like the abuse of the Republicans by the Nashville Banner, which was kept up to throw dust in the eyes of the peo-

"The Nashville Republican Banner, the organ of John Bell, is spoiling all the fine prospects of that gentleman for the Presidency by its coarse abuse of the Black Republicans.' While Mr. Bell is hob-nobbing with the Republicans and semi-Republicans of Pennsylvania and New York, his organ is denouncing ' Black Republicans' as being no bet- greater certainty of future political promotion. ter than the Black Democracy, and the great original sin of each of these parties, according to the Republican Banner, son, who is denounced as an accomplished and ineffable

favorite policy through every vicissitude of political fortune; that we see them, with Horace Greeley at their head, tendering him the compliment of a public dinner. We submit the questions to the heart and conscience of every Southern man: Is this man, whose life and course have been so opposed to Southern interests and Southern rights, as to receive the plaudits and approval of such Abolition leaders as Seward, Burlingame, Greeley, Raymond & with whom he had combined to defeat the acquisition of Co., a safe man for the Presidential chair? Would you be Southern territory in the admission of Texas; that North, willing to trust your rights and interests in his keeping for with whom he had joined hands in denouncing the Mexican four years? Does he deserve the support of the South, and can a true-hearted Southerner give his vote to one who has been so regardless of Southern rights? If it had not been

> mominated at Chicago, John Bell would have been to-day their nominee instead of Abraham Lincoln. JOHN BELL'S ABUSE OF HENRY CLAY. John Bell, at one time, was a most ardent supporter of General Jackson. But he was not content with supporting Jackson; so hot was his zeal, that he must needs attack all those who opposed his favorite. Mr. Adams had been elevated to the Presidency in 1824, through Congress, over General Jackson, and the cry had gone forth that this act had been consummated through a "corrupt bargain and in trigue" between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay. Mr. Bell made haste to reiterate the charge of "bargain and intrigue" against Mr. Clay. On the 11th of October, 1826, he address-

ed a letter to his constituents, from which we quote:

for the German element in the Republican party demanding

that no one who had justified Know-Nothingism should be

"Appealing, then, to those who know me best, for the proofs scale turning, that in their future triumphs they must not forget those in the South and Southwest, "who for a long ter of the present Administration of the General Government these are my views, and these the reasons upon which they are founded: When the late election for Chief Magistrate devolved on the House of Representatives in Congress, the choice of the people the favorite of the nation, was indicated through a thousand chan ception of Abolition petitions: and his declaration in favor nels and by the most infallible signs: in the elevation, therefore, o of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the present incumbent over him, I consider that the first and best then adds: The sovereignty of the people was denied. The noble fabric of American liberty was endangered by the example, and the authors of it owe an atonement. The national safety demands that the atonement should be their fall from power. If there had been no violation of an investment should be their fall from power. clation of an important principle in the late election, I should have been opposed to an administration which owes its existence to a union of discordant and hostile interests, brought about by the ARTS OF POLITICAL MANAGEMENT AND INTRIGUE. These

ries with their property-the right to which could not be TEND TO CORRUPTION, and threaten destruction to the Govthat there exists such a man as Andrew Jackson, to be the instrument, in the hands of the people, of its overthrow. A man whose purposes are admitted to be always pure; whose mind seems formed for great emergencies, and whose splendid services place him, in deserving public favor, at an immeasurable distance in advance of all others. To aid in placing such a man, from any part of the Union, at the head of affairs, particularly to aid in elevating such a man from my native State, is not only in accord

ance with my private inclinations, but would be felt to be a part of my public duty." But this is not all. At a dinner given to Gen. Jackson, Vauxhall Gardens, in Nashville. on the 4th of July, 1827. Mr. Bell proposed a toast, in which he designated Henry Clay as " the guilty statesman." The following is the toast . THE INDIGNANT MURMURS WHICH ANNOUNCE A FUTURE DISTINCT UTTERANCE OF A FREE BUT INSULTED PEOPLE'S WILL MORE TERRIBLE TO THE quilty statesman THAN THE BAT-TLE'S DIN OR THE TEMPEST'S RAGE."

But he was not yet done wit Mr. Clay. On the 7th September, 1827, he prepared another letter for the public, in which, alluding to Mr. Adams' election to the Presidency and the appointment of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State, he

"I have seen the highest and most important office in th Government filled by means and under circumstances affording ALL THE EVIDENCES OF A COALITION FORMED UPON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL BENEFITS to be received and conferred. independently of any controverted point in the details, that the Gov rament can never expect the light of, in any combination that has been or may be entered into, to defeat the will of the people. Ambitious and aspiring politicians who have great characters to sustain, and sense enough to quard against the common blunders of less PRACTICED ADEPTS IN THE ARTS OF INTRIGUE AND MANAGEMENT IN FORMING COALItions, will but seldom expose themselves to the danger of de tection from positive proof. It is not, therefore, in my view of so much importance to consider whether a po sibility of innocence can be admitted in favor of the parties uplicated, as to determine whether the PRESUMPTION TO THE CONTRARY is not so great in the present instance that their continuance would be incompatible with the safe'y and well-being of our political institutions." * * *

General Jackson had been presented a candidate for the first office in the gift of the people-I may say, for the highest office in honor and dignity in the world, for the reason that it is the gift of a nation of freemen. The electors of the people, acting in reference to their wishes, had pointed to him as the object of their preference. Their opinions had been fairly expressed-fully indicated; yet when the question was fully brought to the consideration of Congress, the preference thus manifested was disregarded and a selection nade contrary to the wishes of those who had a right to di rect and govern; of this the freemen of the United States had a right to complain, and they did complain; nor will they, I trust, cease to do so until they shall have vindicated those rights which were thus outraged and wrested from

Yet, after these denunciations of Mr. Clay, and the most fulsome eulogies of General Jackson, which we have not the space to quote, he became, to suit his purposes, the most ardent admirer and culogist of the man he had so grossly abused, and the most bitter reviler and defamer of the other he had formerly bespattered with praise. It was not in his nature to continue long as the friend of any man, and accordingly, after eulogizing Mr. Clay for a number of years, he deserted him for General Taylor, because he thought Mr. Clay's star was in its wane, as he had done with General Jackson. He came out in favor of General Taylor's nomination, over Mr. Clay, for the Presidency in 1848, and as there were then Whigs in Tennessee wedded to Mr. Clay, he made a speech at Murfreesborough, in that State, which was published in his organ, the Nashville Banner, to convince them that they ought to give up Clay and take Taylor. We have room only for a short extract:

"He believed that hostility to Mr. Clay had become a fixed sentiment with many. His admiration of Mr. Clay's talents was not less than that of these who thought his claims should have been preferred. He had prejudices in regard to him to overcome like many others, but many others had not yet overcome them. He was for Taylor because he w of the duty of a patriotic Wing. In giving up Mr. Clay he knew that all did not agree with him. A movement had Mr. Clay the only proper representative of Whig principles. He did not think the Whig party so poor that they could boast but one man who deserved their support.

Again, in 1850, after his extraordinary effort to defeat the Compromise measures. Mr. Clay thought proper, among the opponents of the adjustment, to class Mr. Bell with the Northern Abolitionists, and to say that all they wanted was the Wilmot Proviso incorporated in it. Whereupon Mr. "I am aware of the vast control the honorable Senator

has over the will and sentiments of men, especially in the

honorable Senator so indignantly denounces military authority, IS HE UNCOSSCIOUS THAT HE IS HIMSELF A GREAT of what may happen in the future. As to what may happen, MORAL DESPOT? I know something of these moral despotisms. I have had to encounter them in my time." Is there a man in the United States, who reveres the memory of Henry Clay, can give his vote for his most bitter reviler-John Bell? What say you, Whigs of Kentucky, the egitimate custodians of the fame and honor of your great leader? You who clung to him in every emergency, and never deserted him. He sleeps in the bosom of Kentucky's soil, among those whom he so much loved, and who so much loved him! What say you; will the vote of Keutucky be cast for his defamer? What say you, Whigs of Tennessee, of Maryland, of the Union, who rallied around his banner so gallantly in days of yore, will you now cast your votes for his calumniator? Answer in November next. MR. BELL', ABUSE OF GENERAL JACKSON.

> We have said that Mr. Bell was at one time the firm sup porter and eulogist of General Jackson. So he was up to the 23d Congress, when upon the resignation of Mr. Steven son, the Federalists and Abolitionists tendered him the Speakership in order to beat James K. Polk, the Administration candidate. Mr. Bell's "easy virtue" could not withstand the temptation, and he yielded to their desires, became their candidate, and through a coalition of the Federalists, Abolitionists, Whigs, and disappointed Democrats, he was elected. Yet, he still claimed to be a friend of General Jackson, and returning to Tennessee, by his fulsome eulogies upon the Old Hero, so deceived the Democrats that they re-elected him. Having failed to get into General Jackson's Cabinet, for which he was warmly urged by his friend, Judge White, he became a candidate for reelection to the Speakership, and in order to reach that station, we find him making "fair weather" with all the aspiring candidates for the Presidency-Judge White, of Tennessee, Mr. Van Buren, and Colonel R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky. In the fall of 1834, he wrote to the Hon. C. P White, the bosom friend of Mr. Van Buren, that :

"As yet Tennessee has taken no active, decided course on this question, but the sagacious Politicians among us are going in for Mr. Van Buren The editor of the Kentucky Gazette, a friend of Colone Johnson, in answer to a letter, made a publication in which

" In the month of August or September last, (1834,) think it was, Mr. Bell did write a letter to Colonel Johnso of the character which you describe, and which I saw. do not remember, if, in that particular letter, he (Mr. Bell) urged Colonel Johnson to become a candidate for the Presidency or not; but I know very well that he had pressed him, and the means of success were to be based upon the It is difficult to trace the tortuous course of Mr. Bell at this time. He was for the administration of Gen. Jackson,

and against the administration of Gen. Jackson; he was for the United States Bank, and against the United States Bank; he was for Mr. Van Buren, and against Mr. Van Buren; he was for Col. Johnson, and against Col. Johnson; he was for Judge White, and against Judge White; he was for John Bell all the time, and never against John Bell, as will be seen by the following paragraph from a letter addressed by him, May 11th, 1835, to Charles Cassidy, Esq.

"It would not do to ask Polk to vote for me against himself, but he might be made to pledge himself for me against any other candidate. My course in appointing him Chairman of the Committee of Wavs and Means could be used to show that I have not been influenced by personal considerations against him, where the country is concerned.' It will thus be observeed, that however tortuous may have been Mr. Bell's course upon all other matters, he had but one opinion (to which all other opinions were subordi-

nate) upon the propriety of his own election to the Speak-But Mr. Bell received but little encouragement from the friends of Col. Johnson, Mr. Van Buren, or Mr. Polk. It had become too evident that he was intriguing with the Opposition and forming new party alliances with the view of

Mr. Polk defeated him for the Speakership, however, though he received the whole opposition vote. Yet still he smothered his wrath, and did not attack Gen. Jackson openterwards himself gave that-

"The impression is current and general, that a man who dares to make a direct issue, right or wrong, upon any matter of complaint with the President, must go down in public He was too sly a fox to run in the face of public opinion, and besides General Jackson's term of office would not ex-

pire for two years longer, and he wanted some favors at his hands. So he went home, and took to President-making .-With the exception of Gen. Jackson, no man stood so high | in the esteem and confidence of the people of Tenness e as was not to be thought of by a prudent statesman."—App. Judge White, then a Senator from that State in Congress, and an ardent Democrat and supporter of Gen. Jackson's administration. Gen. Jackson's preference was known to be for Mr. Van Buren-Mr. Bell attached himself to Judge White, and brought him out as a candidate for the Presidency, not, however, as in opposition to Gen. Jackson. He was too cautious for that. In a speech delivered at Nashville, on the 23d of May, 1835, he said: "Gen. Jackson has been eminently successful and triumphant in all his measures. It is one of the happy consequen-

ces of his great success that the friends of his administration a vast and undoubted control and influence in the country. * * * The friends of Judge White, therefore, upon grounds of policy, if upon no other and better ones, will not Amos Tuck, of New Hampshire, in his abolition frenzy seek to disturb the tranquility of Gen. Jackson's adminisupon which he has acquired so much of his present power and influence. * of Judge White will adhere to Gen. Jackson and his administration, from consistency and respect for their own character, and because they will be supporting their own prin-

At a caucus of the friends of Judge White, Mr. Bell drew up a paper in which he stated that if by running Judge White, "our yarty" would be divided, "we ought not to take him up.' The old hero of New Orleans was not to be cheated or fooled. He had a high opinion of Judge White, but he appreciated the unfairness and injustice of Tennessee again claiming the Presidency, after having had it for eight dent to withdraw the army. Here is his own language: years. He also appreciated John Bell, as the following let- "I hold sir, for one, that gentlemen who believe this w ter, dated May 10, 1835, to Gov. Blount, of Tennessee, will

"I would to God that our old friend, Judge White, would soon disentangle himself from the false position that he has been placed in by Bell, Crockett & Co. If he does not, he will be politically lost, since John Bell has turned a good Whig, and put him up as the candidate of the opposition." The old hero knew the vacillations and intriguing disposition of John Bell. He was not to be deceived by his loud-

had seen him coalescing with the opposition for the Speakership. He knew his man; and time, that unerring test, on running Judge White as an independent candidate. And over-heated zeal, in which neither the judgment nor a pro-then commenced his abuse of Gen. Jackson. It was the last year of his Presidential term; the old herowas about going out | do. of office, and would soon be unable to dispense those services and favors which he had here: ofore, lavished on Mr. Bell; this was a favorable opportunity to display his gratitude and gratify his malignant feelings. In three set speeches, covering 544 closely printed pages in the Congressional Globe, he assailed Gen. Jackson in the most vindictive manner. Listen to a few extracts:

"But, again: Is not the enate, which was intended by that. that extent, and as regards that purpose of its institution, actually expugned, and that, too, by Executive power and influence? I demand of gentlemen to answer me, and say if there exists at this moment, practically, any controlling power in the Senate over the will of the Executive? Is not he Constitution itself, for the time being, abregated, subverted, overthrown? All men must now see and acknowledge that the duty of sending nominations of public officers to the Senate, for advice and confirmation, is reduced in practice to mere form. Have we not a Senate of the United states notoriously replenished and organized upon the principle of non-resistance, and of passive obedience to the Exsentinel towers, as they have heretofore been supposed, up- | so high as to penetrate every vale in Mexico, reverberate on the ramparts of the Constitution and of the public liberty, have been boldly entered, and by Executive influence proceedings of State Assemblies have been interfered with, can soldier. and many of those bodies have already been reduced to the condition of mere dependent and co-ordinate portions of the great party machinery by which it is supposed this coun-

instruments of the federal Executive!" This slander, not only upon General Jackson, but upon the senate of the United States, finds a full answer in the statement that it was composed of a majority of opponents party, which he, more than any other one man, had contribto the Administration, and among them we find the names uted to kill, and in organizing a "new" (Know-Nothing) of Henry Clay, I aniel Webster, John M. Clayton, Crittenden, Mangum, White, Calhone, John Tyler, and others, Knoxville, Tennessee, and delivered a set speech, which while among the friends of General Jackson were James | was afterwards printed in pamphlet form, and distributed Buchanan, Silas Wright, Thomas H. Benton, Isaac Hill, at d | through the country. We make the following extracts from others -all of them men not likely to be supple instruments | it :

in the hands of any man. The assault upon the State Legislature is equally as unfounded, and shows the contempt of Mr. Bell for the opin ters Mr. Bell aliaded. He then goes on in this same speech to charge the Pres-

ident with trying to influence the elections, and the choice against all who would change the one or undermine the of his successor, and assailing those opposed to him, by other, * * * * * * * * * * of his successor, and assailing those opposed to him, by other. sending scarrilous articles against them under his own frank, and through the agency of the office-holders. And then

"Sir, with the powers and influence of the Executive, as at present exercised, this Government is an elective monarchy. It is well that we no longer deceive ourselves with names. IT IS THIS DAY AN ELECTIVE MONARCHY. In these speeches Mr. Bell accused General Jackson striving to re-enact the sedition law of 1798, because he though! Congress ought to devote itself to its legitimate duty of legislation instead of engaging in President-making; of overawing and tyrannizing over Congress; of concentrating in his person the sword and the money of the Government; of squandering the public money in objects of internal improvements; of creating a war panic, and disarrang ing the business of the country; of controlling the people by "a series of pretenses and impostures;" of corrupting the public press, and the people; and of corruptly plunging the country into Indian wars without cause .- (See Appenupon him. He had heard of some Whigs who had rather dix to Congressional Globe, 1st session, 24th Congress, pp. sink with Clay than swim with Taylor. That was not his 637, 651) And all this from the man who but one year beson's great success," and professed such devotion to him and DOM, will now be obliged, in consistency with their just and been made in New York lately, by Whigs, who still thought the party. As was to have been expected, these assaults led to the appointment of an investigating committee, moved by the enemies of Gen. Jackson, in order to defame his administration, and to justify a process of impeachment, as suggested by Mr. Bell in the following extract from his speech: Ay, sir, the President may not only be IMPEACHED by this House, but it is its bounden and sacred duty to impeach him for adequate cause.

The resolution fixing the duties of this committee was enclosed by the Chairman in a note to the President. Old Hickory promptly replied : " If, after all the severe accusations contained in the va rious speeches of yourself and your associates, you are unwilling of your own accord to bring specific charges, then I

Whig ranks; and this he has had for years. But, when the will request your committee to call yourself and your associates, and every other member of Congress who has made the general charge of corruption, to testify, before God and our country, whether you or they know of any specific corruption or abuse of trust in the Executive Departments; and if so, what it is. If you are able to point to any case where there is the slighest reason to suspect corruption or abuse of trust, no obstacle which I can remove shall be interposed to prevent the fullest scrutiny by all legal means. | ger, and they made haste to seize whatever advantage, by every proper facility furnished for this purpose. This was the language of an innocent man, who courted and defied investigation. Mr. Bell was summoned before

that committee to make good his charges against General Jackson, and the following question asked him: President or either of the heads of the Executive Departments, which is either corrupt, or a violation of their offi

After protesting against subjecting him to an examination of this character, and admitting that he knew nothing of his own knowledge, he proceeds to state his "beliefs," thus: "I consider every appointment or employment made or confirmed by the President, or any of the heads of the Executive Departments, as the consideration of services and influence in any election, as a gross violation of official duty. I believe that most of the appointments made of late were made chiefly with that motive. "The interference of the President, and other publi

officers, with his knowledge and connivance, in elections,

believe to be one of the most mischievous and dangerous practices of the existing Administration. "I believe there has been a gross violation of official duty under the present Administration in the appointment, by the President or the heads of the Departments, of numerous officers as agents of the Department, and in annexing to such appointments stated salaries and allowances, without have read the revenue law of 1798, which authorize the employment of agents of the Department.)

Concerning the Indian wars, without giving any facts, Mr. Dell testified to his impressions thus: "I therefore feel well warranted in my own mind, in attributing to the imbecility CULPABLE NEGLECT, or the COR-RUPTION of the Administration, all the blood and expenditure which have attended our recent hostile relations with the Creek Indians, and much of the dishonor which must attach to the country by the reason of speculations in their

He then concludes by saying that he "considers" that the President was guilty of " a gross violation of official duty in failing to inquire " into the abuses of the Post Office De-

The committee in reference to the testimony of Mr. Bel and others, reported: "They were called upon as the best source to furnish th committee with proofs, or with the names of witnesses; and instead of doing so, they make complaints against the committee and the President, as if they were the authors of the charges, the movers of the resolution of inquiry, and the promoters of this whole question of investigation. They testify to no corrupt act that they know, but to much that "To defeat me for the Speaker's chair is the main interest they have been informed of and verily believe," but give which Mr. Polk and Johnson have in this whole contest, as I believe. ton's Register, vol. 13, part 2, page 189.

Thus was Gen. Jackson vindicated, and his defamer, John Bell, covered with confusion and shame. A man of feeling would have shrunk from the public gaze, and sought obli vion in retirement. But not so John Bell. The very next year he had the audacity and impudence to arraign Gen. Jackson before the country, and declare that he ought to

have been impeached! Hear him: "It has been my opinion, and I have not yet parted from it, that the late President (Gen. Jackson) did trample upon some of the most important and vital principles of the Con stitution. That no impeachment was actually moved against him, was not because there was any doubt that the Constitution was invaded and trampled upon, nor because the subject escaped attention at the time; for, sir, I, for one, did call the attention of this House to the subject, and declared my solemn conviction to be, that until a great exampl should be exhibited of the power and justice of this House would be progressive. And I questioned whether any other adequate remedy could be applied, under the Constitution. But, sir, I did not think of moving an impeachment against the late President, because, considering his great popularity and influence with the people-that, during the last years of his administration, and which were clearly the worst, he was sustained in all his conduct by a great majority in this House and in the Senate-I held that to provoke, without the power to restrain, would only aggravate the evils of the times, and bring additional injury upon the country and its institutions. An impeachment, under such circumstances, to Cong. Globe, 2d sess. 25th Cong., page 560. Friends of Jackson! who followed his proud banner through the thickest of the fight, and who loved the old soldier when he was alive, now that he is dead and gone to his silent grave, will you not rebuke this calumniator of his

honor, his integrity, and his fame? Answer at the ballot-box on the ides of November next!

HIS OPPOSITION TO THE MEXICAN WAR. The people cannot have forgotten the vehemence with which the Mexican war was denounced, especially by the We now leave him to the judgment of the people. may choose from among his friends, &c. He yet possesses | the Abolitionists of the North. One of their Senators, Mr. Corwin, encouraged the Mexicans to greet our soldiers "with bloody hands and welcome them to hospitable graves."said: "Let the same vote that declared the war unnecestration, or to defeat or unsettle any of those great measures | sary and unconstitutional, starve it to death by withholding supplies." Abraham Lincoln, now the Black Republican * But, gentlemen, the friends | candidate for President, rising in his place in the House of Representatives, denounced it as a war in which the Mexicans were in the right and the Americans in the wrong, declaring that the President "feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, crying to Heaven against him." Where stood John Bell? Side by side with Lincoln, Corwin, and Tuck, in opposing the prosecution of the war and resisting the recommendation of the President for an increase of the military force. He voted with the Abolitionists against the Ten Regiment bill. He went farther, and in his speech detended the course of these men, and counselled the Presi-

"I hold sir, for one, that gentlemen who believe this war to be unjust and iniquitous, or whether just or unjust, that territorial acquisitions which the courage and resources of authors and advocates of it at the bar of public opinion, and ture will prove a boon to thousands and thousands. sition of John Bell. He was not to be deceived by his loud-mouthed asserverations of his fidelity to the party and its act of despotism under legal forms; and to seek to forestall

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July 17, 1860.

principles. He had watched his course in Congress, and | the exercise of this privilege by intimidation and the influence of official denunciation by charging those who avail themselves of this privilege as the allies of the public enemy showed that he was right. Mr. Van Buren received the and their auxiliaries in the war, is an attempt at moral des nomination, but insteat of taking him off, Mr. Bell insisted potism only to be excused as an emanation of excessive and

"But, sir, should the tone of remonstrance against this war rise so high in this chamber as to penetrate every vale | which it is recommended. war rise so high in this chamber as to penetrate every vale in Mexico, reverberating among her mountains, and rouse the whole country to a spirit of resistance to the attempt to subdue them to our own dominion, there are those who be subdue them to our own dominion, there are those who be subdue them to our calemity may befall this country in the subdue them to our own dominion, there are those who be subdue them to our own dominion the subdue the subd

"Sir, if any should now desire to know my poor opinion tion upon the use and abuse of the Executive patronage to upon the proper mode of terminating this war. I say to them use of the LIVER INto make the best treaty with any existing government you cure Liver Complaints, to make the best treaty with any existing government you sig. Chronic Diarrhage can. If you must have the Territories of New Mexico and sia, Chronic Diarrhaa, California, get a cession of them; if you cannot do that, entery, Dropsy, Sour Stomcome back to the Rio Grande, to the boundary you claim Cholic, Cholera, Cholera title to, and thus save your honor.

My advice is, stop the war! Flee the country as you would a city doomed to destruction by fire from Heaven!" It will thus be seen that Mr. Bell was unwilling that an sands can testify) in twenty outraged public sentiment should shame into silence the moral treason of the Abe Lincolns, Tom Corwins, Amos Tucks and others, but that they should be permitted to go on in their efforts to "thwart" the Government in its prosecutive will and authority? And how, sir, has this state of ecution of the war, "by every means of speech, writing things been brought about? The State Legislatures, those and voing," even "should the tone of remonstrance rise among her mountains, and rouse the whole population to a spirit of resistance." What mattered it to him that Amerseduced and prostituded to purposes of federal power and icans were there in deadly conflict with the enemy of their domination. * * * Sir, I may add that the legislative country? No blood of his coursed the veins of an Ameri-

JOHN BELL ON KNOW NOTHINGISM. After helping to throw over Mr. Clay, in 1848, and in 1850 proposing the admission as a State of New Mexico, try may hereafter be governed-the supple and convenient | with a population composed principally of "civilized, halfcivilized, uncivilized, and barbarous" Indians, Spaniards, and Mexicans, we find Mr. Bell, in 1855, engaged in performing funeral obsequies over the death of the old Whig party in its stead. In September, 1855, he proceeded to

"I have said that the Whig banner no longer floats over the stand in political assemblies in Tennessee. That is true; but it has given place to another ensign, under which, ions and views of the people. Those State Legislatures had | trust, all true and conservative 1 triots of both the old parinstructed their Senators on the questions of expunging the | ties will rally, and make it equally glorious and more triresolutions of censure against General Jackson, and in rela- umphant than the one which it has supplanted; and, that it tion to the removal of the deposites. It was to these mat- may never have to be lowered or resign its place to any other, less significant of patriotic purposes and stern deter-other, less significant of patriotic purposes and stern deter-mination to maintain the national character and institutions mination to maintain the national character and institutions Diseases, Worms in Chil "The councils of the American Order are denounced as

secret political societies, fraught with and tending to all the mischiefs and atrocities of the Jacobin clubs of Paris in the French revolution; yet since the order has become a political party all their alleged secret proceedings are known, almost upon the instant, to the public. The oaths administered on initiation of members, are denounced as immoral and amounting to a surrender of all freedom and independence in the exercise of the elective franchise; yet the oaths administered in various other secret societies, or voluntary associations in this country, pass without notice or censure ; and it is well known to these assailants, that any member of the Order can set aside the obligation of the oath he takes, so strongly objected to, at discretion, by withdrawing from the Order. The exclusion of Roman Catholics from the official pale is denounced as proscriptive, and the attempt to establish a religious test, in violation of the constitution. The exclusion of naturalized foreigners from all official stations is denounced as proscriptive and likewise a violation of the constitutional rights of that class of citizens. To propose an amendment to the constitution by which kemanists shall be excluded from office, might justly be conpose to exclude naturalized foreigners from office, by an lief when given in time. It acts as if by magic, and on amendment to the constitution, might, with truth, be said to | irial alone will convince you that what we say is true. be an attempt to proscribe them; but the organization of a contains political party, upon the principle or policy of withholding the support and suffrages of the members of that party in the public elections from Catholics and naturalized citizens-and that is all the American party proposes to do-cannot, by any fair reasoning, or ingenious sophistry, be shown to be an attempt to establish a religious test or to proscribe any class of citizens; nor, in regard either to Romanists or naturalized citizens, can the argument be maintained that the Amercan party, in withholding from them their support in elections, is guilty of a violation of the constitution, in letter or spirit; unless the practice and maxims of both the great parties, which have so long contended for the possession of power in this country, in elections and appointments to and value the life and health of your children, and wish to removals from office, be admitted to be in violation of the constitution, or its spirit.

"The very name of the new party-American, struck terror into the leaders of the Democracy. The prestige of the name of the Democratic party, which had been a tower of strength to it, they foresaw, was likely to be so no lon The offices of all the Departments will be opened to you, and | way of indemnity for the loss they might expect to derive from the new issues presented by the new party, and if they could not destroy it in its birth, they calculated that by the violence of their assaults upon its policy, and their zealous advocacy of the cause of foreigners and Romanists at least to secure their undivided support in future elections "Do you of your own knowledge know of any act by the and thus establish the relation of patron and client in our country, between the Democratic party and the foreign population, founded on the basis of protection on the one side and support on the other ;-a formidable alliance truly ! but if the American party shall succeed in cutting off the perennial supply of fresh recruits to the Democratic standard. derived from the annual influx of the half million of foreigners or more, the Democratic leaders may still find that hey will have to fight their future battles with diminished chances of success. But whatever alliance the Democrats may form with foreigners and Roman Catholics,-however the leaders may fret and rage, -with whatever obstinacy of urpose they may seek to resist or crush the American par-, they will fail to defeat the great and fundamental policy if that party.

"The fears of the timid have been appealed to, by the ssailants of the American party, and their co-operation in voked, in putting it down, on the alleged ground that its policy in regard to foreigners tends to provoke riot and blood shed. It is said that this new party has been stained with blood in its very birth, and that from this we may augure a bloody future. Yes, blood has been shed, and it may foreauthority or warrant of law." (Mr. Bell certainly could not shadow a bloody future. I will not stop to inquire who provoked the shedding of blood in Louisville and other places; but this I will say, that whatever party may have giv en the provocation, it is better that a little blood should sprinkle the pavements and sidewalks of our cities now than that their streets should be drenched in blood hereafter; or that the highways and open fields of our country should drink up the blood of its citizens slain in deadly conflict between armed bands, it may be between disciplined legions-native Americans on the one side, and foreigners, supported by native factionists, on the other. And this will e our future unless, now and before it is too late, we erect sufficient barriers to arrest the torrent of aliens and strangers which threatens in a few years more to flood the whole

We have made full extracts from this speech. We wish

to do him no injustice. We have given him the full benefit of his argument. Look at it! Read it! Study its import and meaning! Was such a cold-blooded speech ever before delivered in this country? We know that there were many well-intentioned but unreflecting men decoyed into this new and new odious organization, who, while sanctioning its principles of hostility to a supposed dangerous increase of the foreign element in our country, yet loathed and condemned the bloody persecutions which reigned in some of our large cities. But not so with Mr. Bell. A man of mature years, when the passions are supposed to have subsided, and of long experience in the public service, we see him stepping forward not only to endorse the principles of this "new" party, but also to justify its acts of bloodshed. and, as a consequence, to incite the lawless men who had engaged in it to still further acts of murder and rapine .-Was such a spectacle ever before presented to the people of this country? " Better that a little blood should sprinkle the pavements and sidewalks of our cities!" To what did he allude? To the horrors enacted in Louisville on " Bloody Monday." Has this scene passed from the recollection of the people? It occurred on the 6th of August, 1855, only about a month and a half before Mr. Bell made his speech. Is it necessary to rehearse the horrors of that day-to tell that the corpses of twenty dead men were picked up on the pavements, whose blood had sprinkled the the sidewalksto recite how five men were penned up in a building and roasted to death-to dethe horrors of the brewery scene, where after the building was fired, cannon was stationed so as to prevent the egress of the inmates, and how from its ruins was dragged the charred remains of a woman hugging her infant to her breast? Our heart sickens at the bare thought of such horrors; and yet this old man-John Bell-gets up in a public meeting, and in the coolest manner, tells his audience that it is "better' such scenes should occur; "better that a little blood should sprinkle the pavements and sidewalks," than that this new" party should not rule America. We cannot trust ouselves to comment upon such conduct. We might go on and show that, after announcing in the

Senate that if the people of Tennessee decided against him on the Kansrs-Nebraska bill he would resign, he proved recreant to his promise, after they had at three elections condemned his course, and the Legislature, in obedience to the popular will, had requested him to resign; that he has been for and against a national bank, for and against a protective tariff, for and against the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the States, for and against internal improvements, and river and harbor appropriations, in short, for and against every measure that was canvassed during his political life; but we forbear. We have presented enough to show what manner of a politician he has been .-WE WILL PUBLISH MR. EVERETT'S RECORD NEXT WEEK.

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